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World Alliance News Letter

The purpose of the Church Peace Union and World Alliance is to promote international friendship and peace, and to mobilize into a conscious force for international goodwill all men and women who share in the great hope of a world in which war will have been abolished. The World Alliance News Letter *is published every month, except July and August, by the Church Peace Union and the American Council of the World Alliance. The* News Letter *is sent to all members of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. Individual membership $1.00 a year. Quantity rates for churches and schools.*

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A Message from the President of the World Alliance

Both literally and figuratively the most shattering event of the centuries is the atomic bomb. It pulverized a city and brought prompt capitulation. So far so good —at least so it seems to me. The opponents of its use must realize that all instruments of warfare are horrible and this differs from the others only in degree. If its use, as authorities tell us, spared the lives of a million or more men, then it was justified. The important thing about it is not its use on this occasion but what is to be done with it in the days to come. For myself I confess this discovery fills me with apprehension and dread rather than thankfulness. Such titanic power in the hands of sinful men is literally awe full. It may open up avenues of wealth and well being for man far exceeding his wildest dreams or it may mean nothing less than the doom of civilization. Some scientists say it could annihilate the race and pulverize the planet. Such alternatives fill one alternately with ecstatic hopes and fears for the future of mankind.

Some persons think the very horror and terror in prospect will mean the end of war. God grant it may be so. Fear is a powerful emotion — sometimes more so than love and we may well use any motive to get rid of war. But have men imagination or wisdom enough to keep this fear before their eyes? So far, the answer is "No." After every new invention of terror we have been told that it would make future wars impossible. History and experience, however, afford small ground for hope. Nevertheless, as lovers of peace, we must keep this fear before men's minds until they realize that civilization can only endure if nations learn to settle their disputes by peaceful means.

The atomic bomb makes nonsense of all our ordinary means of defense whether warships or airplanes or even strategic island bases or frontiers. There is literally no possibility of finding safety or security for any nation by use of force but only through international cooperation. This lesson should be crystal clear and it affords workers for peace the strongest argument yet for their endeavors. The alternatives are stark and clear — either cooperation for peace and prosperity or war resulting in chaos or annihilation.

This points to the only way out viz. the training of the individual to a different pattern of thought and action. This involves education, not in the limited sense of improving the mind but including the whole man, all that we mean by character. The basic trouble with us is that man's mind as evidenced by his inventive genius has outstripped his character. Great power can only safely be entrusted to good men and the question is are we good enough or can we in time become good enough or wise enough to use this latest discovered force aright? As said an editorial in the New York Times: "The time has come when righteousness is necessary to the safety of humanity." And there is no power on earth but religion that can make men good and righteous.

All of which points to the central position among the peace societies of the World Alliance. We are seeking peace through the churches, the exponents of religion which deals with the heart of man. Here lies our only safety. Nations are selfish, international charters and organizations are only as good as the nations or men that compose or control them. International agreements and world charters are necessary if we want to move toward a safe and sane world, but they are no cure-all. They are good or bad according to the mass of individual opinion. Our great task, therefore, is to point out unceasingly the terrific responsibility that falls on every individual to strive against selfishness, greed, hatred, pride and learn tolerance, forbearance, unselfishness and brotherly love. The scornful question of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" is being answered today by events which simply shriek at us the truth that we must cooperate or perish. Since God is our Father, all mankind are brothers and must act as such.

G. ASHTON OLDHAM

Items of Interest

The Dexters in Europe

On August 17 Dr. and Mrs. Dexter sailed from Quebec to work for the development of the Councils of the World Alliance and to represent the Church Peace Union in its efforts to help support the United Nations in building a permanent peace. They arrived in England after a pleasant trip. In a letter just received, they tell of their reception there and of conferences they have begun. It is possible that they may make London their headquarters until the situation on the continent of Europe becomes more clear. We will have a definite report from them, we hope, for the next issue of the News Letter.

Our readers will be happy to know that Mrs. Dexter was awarded an honorary Doctor of Law Degree in June from her *alma mater* Bates College.

Armistice Day — Sunday, November 11

Armistice Day has renewed significance this year. It will still commemorate the great day at the end of the First World War and in addition all that the victory over Germany and Japan has meant to us in the year 1945. Let us make Armistice Day, November 11, a red letter day!

Hard as are the tasks that face us in the future, we are better prepared to undertake these responsibilties than we were at a comparable time after the last war. The United Nations is already an established fact. We have the machinery, and, as Raymond Fosdick says in his article, quoting Lord Cecil, the United Nations organization is simply the instrument. It cannot work by itself but must have the devotion and service of men and women in all nations.

This puts a special responsibility upon religious minded people. We suggest that, in as many communities as possible, an Interfaith service be held on Sunday evening, November 11, devoted to the issues involved in religion's responsibility for world peace. We are prepared to furnish material for these services.

If we receive enough requests we will print an Interfaith service program compiled from a similar program held in Geneva in 1928. This program has quotations and parts of the rituals from the major religions of the world.

Would you like to have such a meeting, and would you like to have us furnish such a program? Write us at once, and as soon as we receive 200 requests we will proceed with the printing and furnish the program to you.

San Francisco Center

A distinguished expert in the field of international relations, Dr. Lloyd D. Luckmann, has been chosen to head the International Center in San Francisco to succeed the late Dr. E. Guy Talbott. Dr. Luckmann, who has been on leave from the faculty of the University of San Francisco, is now retiring from the Pacific Division as a training officer for the Army Engineers.

The newly chosen Director will be in charge of the educational activities of the Center on the West Coast as it coordinates the work of the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance, as well as its associated groups, the American Association for the United Nations, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Le Sourd and Voss to England

As co-directors of the American Christian Palestine Committee Dean Howard Le Sourd of Boston University and Dr. Carl Hermann Voss were invited to fly to Great Britain this summer to meet with Sir Wyndham Deedes, chairman of the British Association for a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine.

Their visit to London coincided with the first World Zionist Conference to be held since 1939, and they were asked to attend the sessions as observers. During this visit they had a unique opportunity not only to secure a fresh understanding of Zionist aspirations and to hear at firsthand reports from the continent about the plight of displaced persons in liberated Europe, but to meet with Christian leaders in the British Isles who are in basic accord with the objectives of the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, the two organizations which comprise the American Christian Palestine Committee.

When they returned they announced the convening of a World Christian Conference for Palestine to be held at the Hotel Statler in Washington, D. C. on November 1st and 2nd. Christian leaders from more than a score of countries where pro-Palestine committees are to be found will be brought to this conference.

Control of the Atom Bomb

Raymond Fosdick, in his article in the Magazine Section of the New York Times of Sunday, September 2nd, entitled "One World or None," presents this "Challenge" with the statement: "We are in a race with our own technologies — with our own mounting capacity to destroy." This is the most compelling argument printed so far. We are fortunate in being able to secure reprints in time to enclose them with this edition of the News Letter.

Politics and Religion

The Anglican and Free Church Council of Doncaster, England, introduced a new ordeal for political candidates during the recent election campaign. It invited its four candidates to meet groups from all the churches and chapels of the district and explain their religious beliefs or, as it put it: "to satisfy the Christian people of the district that their policies are in accordance with Christian lines."

Greece and the World Alliance

Dr. Hamilcar Alvisatos, professor of the University of Athens and Secretary of the Greek Council of the World Alliance, recently visited the United States as the representative of the regent of Greece, Archbishop Damianos. At a meeting of the American Council of the Alliance, he spoke as follows:

I regard it as a great honor and privilege to be with you today. You can understand what a great pleasure it is for me to meet again some of my good friends such as Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Merrill and others. For many years we cooperated in the ecumenical movement and more especially in the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.

It is almost unbelievable to me that after the terrible period we went through, I can feel myself in close communication with these friends and this organization, and find them still hard at work, to prepare an international Christian atmosphere in the entire world.

The task was not easy and in spite of valiant efforts the evil powers proved themselves — quite temporarily, I believe — stronger than the good ones. Till the last moment everyone of us was at his post working, praying, thinking, discussing the possibilities of a better future for all mankind through the application of the *one* Christian morality both for individuals, nations and states.

Suddenly we were separated from you, in the shadow of death and in the darkness of a barbarian aggression and in the depths of cruelty, fear and horror. Now I have come to this great and really God-protected country of yours after four terrible years.

Conditions in Greece

We in Greece — if I may speak about our own experience — suffered under a threefold occupation, the German, the Italian and the Bulgarian. You can imagine what this meant for a small and poor country. I know it very well, because I lived all through the horrible life.

Starvation and deprivation of all sorts of things, even the most elementary and necessary for life, such as bread, light, clothing, fuel, even water, were our existence for over four years. But far worse was the constant effort of our three aggressors to depress spiritually and morally our people and especially our youth.

During that long period all schools from the lowest to the universities were closed, and the Church and preaching were under very severe control. At least one thousand churches and church buildings were totally or partially destroyed. Holy vessels and vestments were destroyed or pillaged. If you add to this the atmosphere of horror and fear under which we were living, created by the concentration camps, the murders, the destruction of hundreds of villages and towns and the extermination of their population, and the terrible housing problem of the remaining unhappy people, then you have some picture of the conditions we were living in during that long and terrible period.

In spite of all that we have existed. We knew, and it was a very great comfort to us in our misery, that our friends in this country were thinking and praying for us. Now we are coming to ask you for help and we know you will respond. We need material help, in order to continue living. But above even material help, we need very urgently help and support in our efforts for education and for developing higher character and a finer standard of spiritual and moral life.

I am happy and thankful that I have obtained the most touching response from ecclesiastical circles in regard to assistance for theological studies; but this must be widened to all branches of knowledge. This will surely help to develop closer cooperation between the two religious worlds of the East and the West. We must create a new period in Church history, the period of union and cooperation in contrast to the former period of divisions and divergences.

The World Alliance

Specifically for the World Alliance, the question is sometimes put whether after the terrible experience of the war it has any reason for existence, or if in some way it ought to be amalgamated with the ecumenical movement.

The World Alliance cannot be blamed for the failure to maintain peace. It was working to create a peace atmosphere during a very short time, and in a corrupted society, educated in war principles and methods for centuries. Nazism and Fascism are not new things even if they were perfected during these last years.

As for the necessity to continue the work of the World Alliance, there cannot be a doubt that the existence of some Christian organization which will try to influence the hearts and minds of those in power to create permanent peace, is of inestimable value. I should consider it a great misfortune to live without a full sense of a spiritual power above the problems of humanity. In some way we felt that at the San Francisco conference. An organization of Christian character, but free from the traditional Church rigidity, is absolutely necessary if the spirit of Christ is to have its due influence in solving the great problems of life, such as the big-scale international problems. Only such an organization can impose the morality of the one justice and righteousness both for states and individuals, and create the one basic foundation of a permanent peace, which is nothing else but good will among men.

It may be that a reorganization of the World Alliance is necessary, but its existence and its independence from the ecumenical movement, because of its different scope and aims, are not in the least open to question.

Report from Canada

Dr. Claris Edwin Silcox, Canadian Secretary of the World Alliance, describes the activities of the Council north of the border:

United Nations Society

The League of Nations Society of Canada has changed its name to that of the United Nations Society of Canada and issued a statement indicating its future policy in the following words: "Being devoted to the creation and development of world order and security, we shall (1) fully support whatever world organization emerges from the San Francisco Conference as the only one immediately available to realize the hopes for peace of the people of the world; (2) urge upon the people and government of Canada the acceptance of whatever commitments may be necessary for the support of such international organization; (3) promote among the Canadian people the study of progressive improvements in such organization as opportunity permits; (4) Recognizing the importance of the Economic and Social Council as an instrument necessary for the development of sound international principles, policies and action, urge the greatest possible use of that Council."

The United Nations Society is now looking for a new secretary, preferably a returned service man, and seeking to raise a budget of some $50,000. to promote its work throughout Canada. The President and Secretary of the Canadian National Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship are both active members of the National Executive.

The Toronto branch of the United Nations Society, probably the largest and most active branch in Canada, is planning its fall work now and has arranged for three monthly round table discussions to be open to the public. One will be on "Nationalism and Internationalism; Are They Compatible?"; a second on "Is Full Employment Possible on a World Scale?"; the third on "Should Colonies Be Internationalized?"

Canadian Institute

The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, affiliated with both the Royal Institute of International Affairs, (Chatham House, London) and with the Institute of Pacific Relations resembles in some particulars the Foreign Policy Association in the United States although membership is more exclusive and by invitation only, and for the most part membership, at least in most branches, has been limited to men. All meetings are closed to the public, and no one is allowed to quote in public what any particular person may have said at a meeting, especially if the name of the person quoted is used. Nor has the Institute any specific solution to offer for international problems. In this way, complete freedom of discussion is encouraged.

At the last annual meeting of the Institute, two main topics were considered with leading Canadian experts on hand to provide date material. These topics were "Canada's External Relations" and "Some Issues of Canadian Federalism." Both were timely in view of the discussions and decisions at San Francisco, and the federal structure of the Canadian constitution, as outlined in the British North America Act of 1867, has been subject of late to severe criticism, and conferences between the Dominion and the nine Provincial governments are being held to iron out some of the difficulties which have arisen. Those who participated in the discussions at the Institute meeting realized how analagous the problem of national federalism was to that of Canada's external relations.

World Order Study Activities

During the discussion on Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, the Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada, of which the Rev. Dr. W. W. Judd (president of the Canadian National Council) is secretary, issued a special bulletin for study which was circulated throughout the clergy and representative laymen of that Church. The first Ontario Interdenominational Youth Conference is to be held September 7th to 9th at the Ontario Ladies' College, Whitby, with one hundred youth leaders as delegates from the Anglican, Baptist, Disciples, Evangelican, Presbyterian and United Churches. One of the four discussion groups will be on "World Community" with the secretary of the Canadian National Council of the World Alliance as resource leader.

New Pamphlet

Ryerson Press has just issued a new pamphlet in its series "Canada Must Choose" (25 cents each). It is entitled "Canada and World Security", and is by Vincent Price, K.C., a former president of the English-speaking Union in Canada and now president of the Toronto Branch, United Nations Society. The pamphlet seeks to analyse Canada's relation to the British Commonwealth in the light of the formation of the United Nations at San Francisco and is critical of some of the positions taken by Canadian representatives at San Francisco, both for their hesitation to accept certain specified commitments without being first consulted, and again for their approval of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, instead of the British Commonwealth of Nations, as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The pamphlet points out that White Russia and the Ukraine are recognized as members of the Assembly, but that Russia as a whole (including the constituent nationalities within the U. S. S. R.) controls the foreign policy for the whole republic and naturally speaks for the subordinate nationalities on the Security Council.

Food for Freedom

Miss Marjorie J. Weber represented the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance at an Emergency Conference on the World Food Crisis, held in Washington, D.C. August 7, 1945. Miss Weber, well known in church circles, a successful teacher and a trained social welfare worker, is with the War Department in Washington, D.C. She reports as follows:

"Thousands of persons will starve or freeze to death in Europe this winter unless help can be rushed from outside." Immediately following this official statement by the Office of War Information, Americans United for World Organization and Food for Freedom invited over a hundred national organizations to attend an Emergency Conference on the World Food Crisis. On one week's notice eighty-five national organizations accepted the invitation to attend. This extraordinary degree of interest was a clear demonstration of popular desire that America should do its part to the utmost to relieve suffering even if it means inconvenience to us at home. It was stressed at the Conference that no adequate plan exists to meet the crisis.

Mr. Howard McMurray, former Congressman from Wisconsin, stated that the purpose of the Conference was to "find a way" to help the liberated peoples by sending more American food, fuel and other supplies overseas.

Authoritative Speakers

Mr. Alexander Uhl, well known foreign correspondent, reported on the plight of the individual in Europe. He made a plea for increased aid as our humanitarian duty and emphasized the serious political consequences if we fail to provide more aid.

The Honorable Abe Fortas, the Under-Secretary of the Interior, explained Europe's desperate shortage of coal and pointed out that the 6,000,000 tons of coal to be shipped if possible by January 1, 1946 is less than 1% of our annual production and will only partially blunt the point of the agony through which Europe will pass this winter.

Mr. Henry Pringle, recently returned from Europe, described the visible signs of distress of those who obtained food from garbage salvage. He pointed to the widespread suffering from "hidden hunger" which is not seen by casual observers.

The European and domestic food and fuel situation was discussed by off-the-record replies and remarks of various officials. Among these were: Mr. Glenn Craig, Executive Secretary of the Combined Food Board; Dr. O. C. Stein, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; Dr. Louise Stanley, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Mr. Chester Williams, Department of State; Mr. McAnsh and Mr. Taylor, UNRRA.

Plans for Action

The following Resolution calling for immediate action to relieve the suffering of the liberated people was adopted unanimously by the Conference.

RESOLVED, That Food for Freedom is hereby authorized by the Emergency Conference on the World Food Crisis to designate a Special Committee, chosen from the organizations participating in this conference and other interested organizations, to call upon the President of the United States to stress the critical need for increased assistance to the liberated peoples and to request the President to unify the responsibilities and coordinate the machinery for an affirmative program in determining the relief needs and meeting them with all possible speed.

The United States has a practical as well as a humanitarian interest in helping to prevent starvation and chaos. For this emergency the United States could spare a larger share of our food and fuel without impairing the health of our citizens. Americans want to be assured that whatever food we have is fairly distributed. They also want to know the facts. How much is being sent, how great is the need? The amount of food and fuel to be released for Europe will depend upon the interests and demands of the American people.

The opponents of sharing have been vociferous in complaining about shortages. The majority of the American people (70% according to a recent Gallup Poll) are willing to get along on less to help the victims of the war. But they do not realize that the sending of more depends upon making their wishes clearly heard.

Self-righteousness and the Peace

In a recent issue of *Christianity and Crisis,* Reinhold Niebuhr wrote:

> Any profound analysis of the problems of the peace must recognize not merely the danger of the common pride of the victors, who imagine themselves more righteous than they are, but also the danger of the particular pride of the particular victors, each of which is inclined to see the sins of the former partner, but not his own sins.
>
> Thus Britain is more conscious of the sins of American economic power than it is of the temptation which arises from its political power, and we reverse the process and condemn British political imperialism without even recognizing our temptation to the ruthless display of our economic power. Both of us in turn find Russian policy difficult but fail to recognize to what degree the insecurity of Russia, which prompts these policies, is derived from what we stood for until Munich.
>
> The recognition of mutual guilt does not absolve us of the necessity and possibility of making discriminate judgments between allies as well as between allies and enemies. But all these judgments must know themselves to stand under a more absolute and divine judgment. If this is not the case, evil multiplies anew behind the facade of a pretended virtue. It is a question whether nations as such ever have a sense of guilt or ever feel themselves under a divine judgment. But it is quite clear what the testimony of a Christian leaven in the nation ought to be.

On the Political Homefront

The political homefront is for the time being primarily "the homefront." President Truman's 16,000 word message to Congress is the most comprehensive peacetime message that has ever been presented to Congress.

The message shows courage on the part of our Chief Executive and will encourage others to believe that the days of our greatest prosperity are ahead and not behind us. The message is so overwhelming that it takes precedence over everything else. It is enough here to give a summary of the issues that are involved:

Unemployment compensation.

Fair labor standards.

Reorganization of Executive agencies.

Full employment.

A Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Extension of the United States Employment Service.

Financial support for price control of farm products; other benefits for agriculture.

Selective service, providing army and navy inducements for volunteer enlistments together with induction of the 18-25 age group for maximum service of two years.

Housing.

The establishment of a single agency for federal scientific research, together with the promotion and support of private research.

Taxes — a mild promise for reduction.

Public works and natural resources.

A wide program for regional control of natural resources.

Salary increase to $20,000. to House and Senate members.

Arrangements for stock piling.

Strategic materials as a safety measure.

A summation of all of these measures may be quoted from the report of John W. Snyder:

1. Jobs for all those willing and able to work.

2. A steadily rising standard of living.

3. Stabilization of our economy to avoid disastrous inflation or deflation.

4. Increased opportunities for farmers and businessmen.

In relation to all of this we should take to heart the words of our President. Speaking to the people gathered before the White House on August 14, he said:

> "This is a great day. * * * This is the day for the democracies. This is the day when we can start on our real task of implementation of free government in the world where we are faced with the greatest task we've ever been faced with. The emergency is as great as it was on Dec. 7, 1941. It is going to take the help of all of us to do it. I know we are going to do it."

Lend-Lease

The Executive Committee of the American Association for the United Nations passed a resolution which is sound and in line with our effort to make the United Nations a really effective organization. The statement reads as follows:

> "The decision of President Truman to effect a cancellation of most of the lend-lease obligations to this country is a continuation of the high and brilliant statesmanship on the part of Franklin D. Roosevelt who conceived lend-lease, and that of the Congress which passed the Lend-Lease Act. The late President Roosevelt in his original recommendations for the Lend-Lease Act and President Truman in his report to Congress just published both indicated the necessity of avoiding translating the material which we contributed to the common cause into terms of dollar commercial indebtedness. It was the narrow commercial attitude toward the war debts of the last war that had much to do with American isolationism, resentment on the part of other countries, and economic nationalism instead of world economic cooperation.
>
> "As President Truman has said, 'with the defeat of the Axis Powers, whose ruthless plan for world conquest and enslavement came so close to succeeding, the United States has realized the major objective for which lend-lease has been extended.'
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> "By cancellation, the United States will indicate to the world that it is not trying to put in dollar terms our material contributions as against the wholesale destruction and privation endured by Great Britain, the millions of lives lost by Russia, and the proportionately tragic sacrifices of our other Allies.
>
> "As President Truman points out, each nation in signing the Lend-Lease Agreement with the United States accepted the obligation to be found in the master Lend-Lease Agreement with Great Britain, that in the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States in return for the aid it furnishes, the terms of settlement shall be such as to promote the expansion of 'production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples.' They further pledged themselves to the elimination of discriminatory treatment, to the reduction of tariffs and in general to the attainment of the economic objectives of the Atlantic Charter."

☆ ☆ ☆

"It is unthinkable that having waged a total and successful war against the most powerful enemies on earth we cannot implement the energies of our private economic system to win the peace at home."

☆ ☆ ☆

"No greater challenge has ever been presented to education, to teach the truth of universal brotherhood. We are confident we can meet this challenge."

Community Activities

World Order Resolution

In Worcester, Massachusetts, the Rev. Dr. Maxwell Savage presented to the members of his church and to the local community the following pledge which has been adopted by many individuals and organizations:

> I now resolve to so educate my Mind, to so arouse my Conscience, to so strengthen my Will that I shall become an influence for the positive prevention of another war. Therefore, I will not lend my ear nor tongue to the carping criticisms of little men, or biased political or ecclesiastical groups who, for lesser, selfish ends, seek to cause disunity among the great nations. Therefore, I will give my backing to every effort, however incomplete, of men of good will, that seeks to bring about the day when nations shall cooperate for such international order as shall give the peoples opportunity to establish justice and a righteous peace.

Radio Education

The series of radio programs entitled "Beyond Victory", presented by the World Wide Broadcasting System in cooperation with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, continues throughout September, discussing "The Political Structure of the Japanese State" and "Japan's Educational System."

Among the speakers will be Dr. Willis Lamott, distinguished author and lecturer and former faculty member of one of Tokyo's leading colleges, who lived in Japan for nearly twenty years.

Following is a partial list of stations carrying the series:

Boston: WCOP — Friday, 4:30.
Chicago: WIND — Saturday, 7:45.
Columbus: WOSU — Friday, 7:00.
Minneapolis: WLB — Wednesday, 7:00.
New York: WHN — Saturday, 6:00.
Portland, Oregon: KBPS — Thursday, 4:15.

Discussions on "Beyond Victory" are available in script form at the price of 10¢ per copy by writing to the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, 598 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Niebuhr on the Life of Nations

The world of history differs from the world of nature in this: In a world of nature a spring follows every winter, and the seed which falls into the ground brings forth fruit, but in history — that is, in the life of men and of nations — death and destruction do not of themselves generate new life, if the outer death is not inwardly apprehended so as to produce repentance. Repentance is the inner death of the old self from which the larger and better self arises.

We are reaching the end of a world-wide conflict in which death and destruction have enveloped the earth. The very joy of our imminent victory is sobered by the growing realization of the breadth and depth of destruction which our victory has cost. The sufferings of the whole world represent the most terrible chastisements of our generation, but they will not lead to new life if they do not lead to repentance. If these sufferings are not understood, they will lead to despair rather than to repentance. Morally and inwardly understood, a world-wide conflict is the consequence of the inability, or the unwillingness, of the nations to create a world-wide community adequate to express and to order the world-wide mutual dependence in which they live.

We must be careful, however, not merely to regard our victory as the vindication of our virtue. For if the victorious nations do not also repent, there can be no spring or resurrection in the life of nations. We need to repent of those negative forms of national self-sufficiency which prevented the organization of a world community in the past. We need also to repent of those positive forms of national pride which may even now prevent a real community of nations from coming into being, even after the terrible lessons of war have taught us the error of our past mistakes.

Repentance is the inner death which alone guarantees a new life in the affairs of men and nations. Consider, for instance, the position of three great nations whose common efforts were primarily responsible for our imminent victory. Suppose that each of these three nations should become more interested in preserving its power and prestige than in achieving a system of mutual security. There are, unfortunately, indications that, though all these nations do genuinely desire a mutual system of security, they are also so intent upon their own security and so suspicious of the virtues and good intentions of their partners that an adequate system of mutual security is imperiled. If each of us is primarily interested in gaining power for the event of another war, we will together ruin every possibility of security against war itself.

The judgment upon our past sins and errors has, in fact, been so tremendous that one might imagine that the nations of the world would be actuated by the one ambition to make every sacrifice and to take every step necessary for the achievement of a permanent peace. But, unfortunately, even the severest judgments do not produce such clear motives of contrition in the life of nations. That is why history is so tragic and the road to peace so tortuous. Considerations of national pride and moods of self-righteous mistrust of our partners are mixed with humility and contrition. Therefore, we cannot be too sure that a spring will follow our present winter and that a new life will come out of present death. Yet there are, thank God, also increasing signs of a genuine repentance. These are the real harbingers of spring and the resurrection in the life of nations.

Excerpt from an address by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr in University of Chicago Round Table of the Air

SUGGESTED READING

The Real Soviet Russia by David J. Dallin. Yale University Press, New Haven. $3.50.

The author, apparently a White Russian, gives a provocative analysis of the Soviet regime overloaded with controversial material with little or no realization of the international implications of his statements. If all, or even a majority of Dallin's allegations, are confirmed by less prejudiced observers they might indicate a serious internal situation in Russia but his presentation of them to Americans at this time can do little good to Russia and nothing but harm to American-Russian relations.

Germany, Russia, and the Future by J. T. MacCurdy. Cambridge University Press, New York. $1.25.

An objective and readable analysis of German and Russian national psychology. Dr. MacCurdy predicts an "isolationist" Russia requiring tolerance and a knowledge of what is to be tolerated — on both sides. The realism of treatment is exceedingly refreshing after the current flood of books in Russia written either by starry-eyed fellow-travelers or myopic communist-baiters.

World Policing and the Constitution by James Grafton Rogers. World Peace Foundation, Boston. 25 cents.

The World Peace Foundation and former Assistant Secretary of State Rogers have made a most important and needed contribution to political thought in this pamphlet. Mr. Rogers has shown the extent of power given the Executive throughout our history. The precedents for "police" action have been carefully sifted and accurately documented.

Bretton Woods: Clues to a Monetary Mystery by Carlyle Morgan. World Peace Foundation, Boston. 25 cents.

Economics without tears. The Bretton Woods agreements have now been ratified by our government. If you don't yet understand what they are about, this little book will help you.

Strangers in India by Penderel Moon. Reynal & Hitchcock, New York. $2.00.

It is unusual for a member of the Indian Civil Service to write a book on India until he reaches the retiring age. Penderel Moon, still under forty, but with fifteen years Indian experience is a rare exception. It is probably for this reason that he neither apologises for the British Raj nor worships Gandhi and the Congress party. Despite some inaccuracies and a dialectic style an obviously sincere account by an honest observer of one of the world's most difficult problems.

The Netherlands and the United States by B. H. M. Vlekke. World Peace Foundation, Boston. Cloth edition 50 cents, paper 25 cents.

After a short history of the Netherlands and of its relations with the United States, the author takes up post-war problems, both in Europe and in the overseas territories, of long-term social and political change as well as immediate relief and reconstruction. A good brief statement.

Germany's Step-Children by Solomon Liptzin. Press of the Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia. $3.00.

Dr. Liptzin presents a moving portrait — or rather series of portraits — of souls in conflict: German Jews attempting to be both German and Jewish. Most of them failed through no fault of their own to achieve a satisfactory synthesis. It is the author's contention that the German Jew is only completely integrated when he retains his Jewish cultural traditions coupled with a sense of world citizenship.

A Price for Peace: the New Europe and World Markets by Antonin Basch. Columbia University Press, New York. $2.50.

Dr. Basch, a leading Czechoslovack economist now teaching at Columbia, believes that the nations and particularly the United States can coordinate policies of freer trade, of high level employment, and of the development of backward areas, so as to increase the chances of peace and prosperity. Readable and stimulating.

One God — The Ways We Worship Him, by Florence M. Fitch. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., New York, N. Y. Price $2.00.

A beautifully illustrated story of the different ways in which the three great faiths of America worship one God. Suitable for children of all ages to help them understand and respect the forms of worship of religions different from their own. Invaluable for parents and teachers.

United Nations — Study Kit. United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Price $3.50.

The United Nations Information Office in cooperation with the United States Office of Education, has published a "study-kit" consisting of twenty-five graphic, colored poster-charts, thirty pamphlets and a discussion guide. The kit is designed to help school children understand the other United Nations, their people, histories, what they have done in war and how they are cooperating for peace.

How Will The United Nations Work? 50 Questions and Answers on The United Nations Charter. The Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Single copies and orders up to 20 free; quantity rates.

The Price of Peace, by Sir William Beveridge. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Price $2.00.

In The Price of Peace, Sir William turns to the problem of international security so that peace shall be both assured and lasting. He argues that the law must rest on impartial arbitration and that the force can only come from the strong nations, with the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Soviet Russia making their contribution to international security by deciding to use their power not for narrow advantage but for the common good of world order. Wise, realistic, and convincing, it is a book for all who feel serious concern for the establishment of lasting peace.